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the two groups at some period of their history, — we cannot say if before or after the Conquest, is based on the presence of certain material cultural techniques of the Arwako [Arhuaco] Indians in the Guajiro group.

Let us now analyze carefully and separately each one of these factors:

*756 Medicine practiced by the shaman. In chapter II of this study, we referred to the shaman's curative methods which are effected through their magic communication with the spirits. These spirits supply the instructions required for the ceremonies and processes that are to be practiced to effect the cures of illnesses caused by the wanurú which have a sick person in their power. We again refer the reader then to chapter II.

791 Medicine by divination. Before entering fully into this subject, we feel obliged to clarify somewhat the diviner's position in La Guajira and to learn something more, if only superficially, of the processes of divination.

There are certain men and women capable of seeing secret events that have occurred or foreseeing those that will occur. For this they employ different objects; some use a machete (an item of acculturation), and by closely studying its edge they divine, for example, what has happened at the site of a robbery and where the stolen objects will be found. Others make use of burning tobacco and others, finally, of a burning firebrand.

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[786] In this aspect of divination the world of the spirits plays as great a role as it does in general in all the themes of magic, since the chain of events in the case of the divination of a robbery, for example, is that the spirit of the diviner disengages itself from his body and goes in search of the lost articles, following the track of the thief until it finds the hiding place and consequently the stolen goods, returning then to the body of the diviner to communicate the result to him so that he can, on his part, transmit the information to the party who has come to consult him. [54]

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787 The shaman also has this power of divination at times, and he, as well as the others, can foretell deaths and other events that will happen. The shaman by reason of his known inherent powers inspires more faith in his prophesies, especially as these practically never fail to be fulfilled.

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791 One of the functions of a diviner who divines by means of tobacco, for example, is to decide at a gathering of shamans to which he is expressly summoned whether a certain individual shows definite symptoms that he will become the host of a spirit of the same class as their own. This diviner generally is not a graduate shaman but is a man or woman of great experience in this type of "science." The diviner places the tobacco or manilla, in his mouth and a burning firebrand in his right hand, which he moves up and down while he discourses; he watches it fixedly and gives his verdict in accordance with the variations he notes in the burning stick. This verdict is considered final.

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787 Shamans in some cases learn the art of divination by the use of a glowing brand to find out, in the event of their being called to cure a sick man, whether they should take the case or not. For the test they take a firebrand; they call on the spirit to come to their aid. They remain with the brand in hand, without blowing on it, and carefully observe the different changes which occur in it through the action of the flame, and from these changes they deduce what will happen. If the firebrand goes out while they are watching it, it means that the sick man is going to die, and hence his presence will not be required.

787 The ceremony of divination by means of fire must be carried out at night never by day. There are diviners who make use of a burning reed or cane for this ceremony. They hold it in the hand and do not take their eyes off it, paying close attention to the changes in the flame, if any, in the blazing up or dying down of the ember, and any other variations they may see. According to all these details, they decide on what divinatory acts are called for and what should be used to locate lost objects or stolen animals. The diviner endeavors to trace the process of the actual robbery in the flame and after that the route the lost object took until he discovers its whereabouts, so that he can state where it is and who was the thief.

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438 in charms, which usually have no magic value and are a com-
789 plete fraud. These women are accustomed to putting in a small
673 wool bag something that has the appearance of a charm and
selling it as the legitimate article.

832 5. A love charm is worth about 300 Colombian pesos, and
435 just the loan of it for a few days to a friend for him to get the
426 desired results is paid for. Such a temporary loan is worth 100
Colombian pesos.

632 6. Besides the love charms which are strictly Guajiro,
[791] there are others that the so-called "Gocha" women sell. There
are many of these women in Maracaibo and Zulia. Unfortunately,
we could not obtain any special data about these makers of magic
charms, of whom there are many on the eastern borders of La
Guajira.

7. The charms serve equally for either sex; what varies
is in general terms the effects of the charm.

8. Some personal objects, such as hair, sandals, etc.,
may form the basis of a love charm of great magic potential.
This potential is above all due to the possession of a part of the
personality of the person whom one wishes to harm.

9. Different love charms can be mixed together.

10. Charms may be acquired among civilizados. This kind
of magic material is carefully kept in glass containers made
especially for this purpose. [94]

Love charms. The Guajiro Indian, man or woman, knows
and uses different charms to attract or repel love. They have
them of different classes as regards form, preparation, and raw
material. Some of them are the following:

a) One has the shape and general appearance of the excre-
ment of the machorro, (a species of lizard). It has been stated
that one of the magic objects used by the shaman is a small wool
bag containing a paste prepared by a herbalist that is in the shape
of goat excrement and is used to attract the spirits.

b) Another, which is kept inside a small glass receptacle,
looks like a stone and is accompanied by some small pieces of
coral.

c) Another is made in the following way: The root of a
herb, very abundant on Itojoro Hill, is ground and [the paste]

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*756 e) Defense of the community and the individual from the harmful influence of evil spirits, an influence which largely expresses itself in personal and communal illnesses.

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*756 In exchange for all these services given by the shaman, the community offers him as payment, on one hand, their backing, respect, admiration, and even fear, and on the other hand, material goods which consolidate his status of privilege, such as necklaces, cloth, jewels in general, animals, and money.

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741 [154] In accordance with the previously established division between magic and the foretelling of the future in Chapter IV, we should now state that the diviner, like the shaman, serves to maintain, defend, and restore the regimen for individual security and collective stability, an affirmation which we have based on the following functions which he performs:

a) Discovery through divination of the causes of illnesses, thus permitting the prescribing of adequate medication, with great probability of success for the patient, who is generally a child.

[685] b) Also through divination the restoration of lost objects and the discovery of the thief -- factor in the breaking of the regimen for personal security -- so that the thief may suffer the penalties with which society punishes those who violate the cultural norms concerning personal property.

[787] c) Divination by which, when husbands are absent from home, their state of health can be ascertained and their wives can provide them with rapid and effective help.

d) Determination, in the last instance, of a novice's "vocation" or lack of "vocation" in the science of shamanism, a decision which is of great importance for the community in general, since on it depends whether the community has in its future magician a defender of its regimen for stability, a counselor and spiritual director, or, on the contrary, a charlatan on whom the protector spirits have not descended to illuminate him and who

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182 is for this reason most probably a moral and material fraud.
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7956 We have to remember that there are two fundamental facts
787 with respect to divination: 1) that the shaman can be both
things, magician and diviner, which increases his position and
prestige; and 2) that any individual can learn for his personal
use and the good of others the methods of divination, which do
not require, as they do in the case of the shaman, the illumina-
tion and constant presence of the protector spirits who exercise
their domination over the individual in whom they dwell and
whom they submit entirely to their will.

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182 Ordinary magic, that is, that which does not depend on
626 the shaman or the diviner, but is rooted in popular belief and
789 is like a code of preventative norms tending to avoid the break-
ing of institutionalized cultural patterns, is also a true regimen
for [155] stability. It clearly indicates that if this or that norm
is violated, the individual will suffer the punishment in himself,
in his offspring, or in his family group, such as, for example:
a) nonattendance at burials, not assisting in the digging of graves,
not looking on the lowering of bodies into the grave, etc., on
the part of both parents when the woman is pregnant.

b) The prohibition against approaching children or sick
people after having touched a corpse.

c) The precautions that a pregnant woman should take on
meeting a snake.

d) The ceremony that should be practiced with the corpse
of a first-born child.

e) The restriction imposed on a pregnant woman's husband
regarding hunting with modern firearms.

f) Finally, the observation of all those norms whose viola-
tion may adversely affect the actual birth or the health of the
newborn baby by causing the mother to be upset and ill before
or during childbirth.

g) We may also see this action of magic in the use of dif-
ferent kinds of charms (fetishes, amulets, talismans), in the
express prohibition of not pronouncing the personal name of an

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787 that prevents his own from being shed—and after this a chichamaya dance is arranged.

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787 It is not only through dreams that future events can be foretold. There are special sooth-sayers: we have already mentioned the outschi, who deal in prophecy without being piaches. Many real piaches also deal in prognostication, but that is not really their province. The Indians believe in the piache, more than in the ordinary sooth-sayer. 'The piache is always right', they say.

In divination the sooth-sayer also uses a firebrand that he swings through the air, or a lighted cigarette or, sometimes, a knife-edge along which he stares. Whatever the method, the sooth-sayer's spirit has to free itself and go roaming. Let us say that he is to track down a stolen cow. The freed spirit follows its path till it finds it and can say whither it has been taken. As I said, a piache will not treat a patient if he is sure that he is incurable: He often finds out about this by using a firebrand. If it goes out, there is no hope. Sooth-sayers most carefully study the different shapes assumed by the coals, which, to the initiated, are significant.

[276] As with us, there are many amateurs, especially elder women, who try to foretell the future or discover what others are about. Suppose such a woman wants to know where her husband, who is on a journey, is and how he is faring. She takes a cigar of the primitive kind they use there, lights it and pronounces an incantation, asking to be shown what she wishes to know. If the ash turns black, her husband has fallen seriously ill, if the red part splutters it means that he will get gold, that is money. Other signs will reveal that he has associated with some other woman. That can involve the husband in considerable trouble when he returns.

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776 Medicine men have a number of guardian or assistant spirits who advise them, but who also require remuneration for their services. They also warn the medicine men against enemies. Every piache has seven or eight such spirits, each of which is invoked with a special song. The rain demon, Marciwa, is called in song under the name Fumayule, while

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that he was waiting for two men with whom he was going on a long journey. One of these was from Macuira and the other from Parashi. At that instant two horsemen appeared. Umaralá took farewell of his slave and told him that they would not meet again in this world, only in the next, and he enjoined the slave to tell no one of what he had seen or should see, otherwise he would die. The slave was left alone in the hut, sorrowful and wondering. He saw the riders disappear in the direction of the burial place that Umaralá so often visited. The slave then followed. He heard the death-lament, but saw no one. That was Umaralá bewailing his aunt with his friends. The slave returned home and soon became very ill. He told what he had heard and seen and died immediately afterwards.

The slave had noticed that the man from Parashi who had accompanied Umaralá, was dressed in deerskin. This man lived in a little hut and had the power to transform himself into a deer. Several Indians had seen and recognized him. He used to make and sell hammocks and other articles made of bast.

The man from Macuira who had been with Umaralá devoted himself to curing diseases. He used herbs and roots for some and cured others by burning the patient with a red-hot iron point. He was also a sooth-sayer and could make rain. His name was Jururiana.

Once there was a dreadful drought that made many people leave Macuira and go to the savannas. Famine came to the hills. Now people knew that Jururiana could make rain and when he came to a place called Chamato they flocked round him. In the end, in order to compel him to make rain, they tied him to a post in the sun and told him that they would not loose him until he had brought rain. This he did. After two hours, there was a big shower. The chief Juanito Epiayú was a very good friend of Jururiana and often summoned him when there was a drought, arranging dancing with much drinking and races. Jururiana then made rain.

This rain-maker vanished, none could say how. Another pretended to be Jururiana rejuvenated, but the chief sent for

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- 791 him and found that he could not make rain at all, but was
789 an impostor, so he was driven away with blows and was glad
to escape with his life.

756 Even in the days when the reputation of the piache stood
high, the Guajiro would not infrequently seek the help of
the famous medicine men of Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta,
the so-called *mamds*, in whom many Creoles believed. A
Guajiro who could manage to do so would take a sick
person there or an article of clothing or some ornament that
the invalid had worn. The medicine men of the mountain
Indians would use this to diagnose the disease, and the
messenger would return with a herbal medicine. The
health-bringing plants were broken up and preserved in
spirits. People liked to acquire such medicine especially
before a child was born; it was then poured into the
infant's bath water and the mother drank a gulp of it.
The effect of it depended on the magical power of the
plants.

757 The Guajiro themselves used certain plants as medicine.
824 Sometimes these really were effective, but often it was just a
question of sorcery. A plant with much milky sap, for
example, was laid on a mother's breast if her milk failed.
The powers possessed by the mountain Indians of Sierra
Nevada were attributed to the circumstance that they
possessed the secret of invoking specially powerful spirits,
whose essence also permeated the herbal medicines people
got from them. The effect of the herbs thus came from the
spirits residing in them. Intoxicating drinks acted through
the spirits liberated in the process of fermentation; that was
a common belief among the Indians.

787 The Guajiro believed in omens and portents. Various
825 animals foretold misfortune or death. A wild cat wailing
round the house at night, a bat that persisted in following
one through the darkness, in certain circumstances also a
snake beside the house, all portended trouble or sorrow.
The Indians paid special attention to the behaviour of a
number of birds and interpreted this as indicating the
approach of visitors, the imminence of something un-
pleasant, etc. When they thought they had observed such a

over the novice as he (or she) lies in the hammock twisting and groaning⁷⁵⁶ as his spirit takes possession of him, imparting knowledge and power.

In attempting to cure, a shaman often causes greater injuries to the⁷⁵⁵ patient; permanent blindness may result from his effort to cure eye injuries with caustic powders or to remove foreign substances with horse-hairs or cactus spines. Tuberculosis is treated by inducing expectoration and prescribing a meaty diet. Dysentery is cured with herbal medicines. Well-chewed tobacco or tobacco-laden spittle rubbed over a painful area is a common method of therapy. If the medicine man effects a cure, which he frequently does, he is rewarded with gifts of cattle, rum, etc. No attempt is made to treat smallpox, the victim often being abandoned to his fate.

Some practitioners who are not exactly shamans divine by burning⁷⁹¹ a bundle at the end of a stick or by examining the bottom of a bottle,⁷⁸⁷ i.e., by crystal gazing (Hernández de Alba, 1936, p. 42).

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